TL 5620

FRENTE REVOLUCIONÀRIA DE TIMOR-LESTE INDEPENDENTE

(Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)

FRETILIN

SPEECH

OF

Mr. ABILIO DE ARAÚJO, CHAIRMAN OF THE OVERSEAS DELEGATION OF FRETILIN (DFSE), IN THE DEBATE ABOUT THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR FOR THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION ON THE 13TH OF AUGUST 1987

Mr. President

Distinguished Delegates

First of all let me thank you for having been given the chance to talk about the "Question of East Timor".

In my capacity of Head of the Overseas Delegation of FRETILIN, in the name of the Presidency of the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance, the political and military organisation leading the Resistance Fight in East Timor, and also in the name of H.E. the Commander-in-chief of the FALINTIL, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, I would like to congratulate this Committee for making the right decision to consider and discuss the COLONIAL question of East Timor, in the present year of 1987.

It is to us, Maubere fighters for liberation, a reason for encouragement and satisfaction to realize that this committee keeps alive the traditions that made it, during the sixties and early seventies, the pulpit for notable anti-colonialist fighters and the forum for the causes of colonial Peoples, who through tough fighting and countless sacrifices have consecrated and immortalized the right of the Peoples to self-determination and independence.

For this reason,
Mr. President and
Distinguished Delegates,

It is no longer possible to witness, here and now, any remarks of praise and endorsement of the virtues of the colonial system;

it is not even thinkable any more to listen to people boistering here about the existence of pluricontinental and multiracial nations, and so on and so forth... The thing is that all these justifications that used to make up the flesh and backbone of the ideology of colonialism have vanished, together with the colonial situations they backed: the times of the European powers' colonial dominance over large continents, namely Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The end of the Portuguese colonial empire and of the colonial era in those continents, makes it imperative to examine the colonial situations still prevailing in the world and to recognize their similarities and resemblances with the past, in order to organize a consistent struggle at all levels.

After centuries of colonial oppression by European colonial powers, the Peoples of East Timor and of the Arab Saharawi Democratic Republic carry on their fight for the rights they always have been entitled to: the right to Freedom, the right to Independence.

The colonial claims of the old metropolises have been defeated. But soon two new Colonizers made their way into the running of our two Nations: The Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of Morocco, both greedy for expansion beyond their borders.

This is a new phenomenon where countries that had previously been dominated and colonized by the European powers are now the colonizers; these countries, which until recently were among the staunchest defenders of anti-colonialism, and fierce supporters of the struggle of other Nations for freedom from colonial oppression and domination, have now become true colonialists and are probably more blood-thirsty and brutal than the old european colonialists, since their domination falls upon

usually weak and defenceless neighbour countries; these countries, which, last but not least, have cultural and historical backgrounds different from that of States of Israel or South Africa are nonetheless applying the same policies of occupation, of denial of the rights of the Peoples they oppress, thus leaving behind them a long trail of unpunished crimes.

Mr. President
Distinguished Delegates

I should like to make a few brief comments on the alledgedly cultural and historical arguments underlying the thesis of the common cultural and ethnic origins of the Peoples, so oftenly put forward by the new colonizers.

According to that argument the Western/European colonialism, by imposing its domination, separated and divided Peoples originally coming from a common cultural background and probably part of one political entity alone. Hence the expansion beyond its borders, with a view to the integration or annexation of a neighbouring People, would just mean the re-establishment of the pre-colonial harmony and perhaps even help the downfall of the colonial system.

How unlikely and untrue this is !

As far as the People of East Timor is concerned we can surely assert today that its cultural affinities with the Peoples who inhabit the geographic area that now constitutes the Republic of Indonesia go far back into the neolithic era described by archeologists as "Civilization of the quadrangular axe", and of which the Austronesian peoples were conveyors around the year 2,500 B.C..

Nowadays, some 4,500 Years after that Austronesian common origin, it is easily verifiable that the core of the Indonesian people's Austronesian essence has been replaced by some new cultural elements, among which the Hindu, Moslem and Buddhist components can be singled out. As for the People of East Timor, it can be said that its culture clearly shows the Austronesian cultural essence, melted with the influences of the Christian Civilisation and of the Portuguese culture.

Mr. President,
Distinguished Delegates,

The Indonesian expansionist regime's thesis, about the common cultural and ethnic origin, having thus been rebutted, reference should now be made to the autonomous evolution of the People of Timor's historical process throughout the colonial period, which followed a different and diverging path from that of the Peoples under Dutch rule.

Anti-colonial resistance has always been an historical feature in East Timor. Afonso de Castro, a former colonial Governor of Timor stated in 1864 that "insurrections in Timor have succeeded one another in such a way that it is possible to say that rebellion is the normal situation there and peace is the exception" (in "As Possessões Portuguesas na Oceânia").

I will not enumerate here the causes for the failure of our ancestors' anti-colonial struggle. But I do wish to mention the colonial system as a disruptive agent of political, social and economical structures of the Peoples, which at the same time generates and rearranges new social movements.

In East Timor the great independence wars led by the "Liurais"

(= Kings of Timor =) caused the collapse of the structures of the traditional Timorese society, the gradual ending of the rivalry between kingdoms, and a new internal social mobility. By the end of this period of wars (1642-1912) the Maubere social tissue had undergone a re-arrangement as a result of the development of the colonial mood of production. New social classes that emerged from this development produced new dynamics in the whole of Timorese society. They were responsible for the maturing of the collective/national consciousness that had been breweing during the nights of passive cultural resistance and that emerged as a newly born reality - the PEOPLE and NATION of East Timor .

Mr. President
Distinguished Delegates

The Maubere People and the Maubere Nation are altogether different from the Indonesian People and the Indonesian Nation.

To deny this reality is to deny the right of many Peoples and Nations represented here at this Organisation to live in freedom.

The Republic of Indonesia did everything they could to prevent our People from fully exercising that right.

War, genocide and starvation are today undeniable facts.

The growing confluence, from the most varying sources, of exposure of the Indonesian colonialism in East Timor must constitute a matter of deep concern to this Committee and an alert for the UN to take urgent measures, for restitution of justice and lawfulness to the Maubere Nation.

Nothing, Mr. President, justifies the abusive and blatant Indonesian interference in the affairs of the People of East Timor;

Nothing can justify the war of aggression and occupation against a People that could now be engaged in the National Reconstruction of its Country in the same way as the brother Nations of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe;

Nothing can justify the deliberate policy of the Indonesian colonialism leading to the physical and cultural extermination of the Maubere People.

Not even the false thesis about a common cultural and ethnic origin;

Not even the alleged-development during the last twelve years of Indonesian occupation can justify the disappearance of thousands of villages and families in East Timor; the genocide of more than 15,000 Timorese; the exile and birth of a diaspora for the only reason that the people of Timor does not accept to be a foreigner in his own Homeland.

Mr. President,
Distinguished Delegates

The racist and inhuman regime of Pretoria may have developed South Africa, but that did not and still does not keep the UN, in accordance with the principles of the Organization, from condemning the regime, from approving just resolutions and from imposing due sanctions, with the purpose of forcing Pretoria to change radically the degrading situation of the black population. The same goes for Namibia, where the political manoeuvres of Pretoria have met with strong oppo-

sition by the UN.

The same can also be said today about New Caledonia which, despite France's policy of development, the UN decided in its last General Assembly to include in the roll of non self--governing territories.

Mr. President
Distinguished Delegates

There are but too many publications from the Indonesian Ministry of Propaganda about the alleged development of Timor, and the theoretical sacrifice of the Central Administration of Jakarta to assure the material welfare of the populations of Timor! All this verbiage is reminiscent of the fascist-colonial speech of the Salazar-Caetano regime that stated that the only reason why Timor was being kept in the Portuguese Empire was Lisbon's generosity!

Consequently, I shall read a few extracts from a report of the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance, signed by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief of the FALINTIL, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, dated the 12th April of the current year.

From this extensive Report, I shall quote the parts describing three timorese villages located, respectively, in the are bordering on Indonesia, in the central region and in the eastern region.

These constitute a good testimony of the so-called Indonesian development in East Timor:

"Social and economic situation of the Suku of Ai-Asa/Bobonaro"

Ai-Asa is made up of 3 settlements: Leo Balu, Ai-Asa and Mapo.

During the period of the 1983 talks the population of this Suku was allowed to live in the areas of Anapal and Nalop, between Zumalai and Bobonaro, some 12 to 15 km south of Bobonaro, where the land is wider and richer. At that time the problem of starvation seemed to be partly solved.

In 1984, guerrilla fighters from the 2nd Autonomous Guerrilla Battalion started to show up again, quite frequently. There were attacks against Enemy positions at the Mape and Nalop Concentration Camps in October 1983, and Anapal in May 1985. The occupiers accused the population of feeding and helping the guerrilla fighters. Then, they restricted the population by force to stay where the Suku used to be, in the settlement of Ai-Asa, two kms south of Bobonaro.

The abandonment of the Anapal and Nalop areas of production together with the shortening of the area of production to a few thousand meters around the settlement and the constant preventive measures, inevitably caused a situation of chronical starvation that has been affecting this population every year".

"Social and economic situation of the population of Laklúbar"

The whole population of Laklúbar is practically concentrated around the village and is only allowed to move around and work the land on a radius of 1 to 2 km around the village. In order to survive they often have to go for honey and "kami" in the bush to sell in market places at Kribas or Manatuto and trade for food. For this (selling in markets as well as going to the bush) they need a "surat jalan" (pass card) issued by

"koramil" and by the nanggalas" (special troops). If they are caught without this card they will be put in jail or shot without mercy. There is a daily roll call of the population at 5 p.m. every afternoon and anyone found missing before 7 a.m. or after 5 p.m. is severely beaten.

The population is confined to an area of 1 to 2 km around the concentration camp. The land is not very productive and every year each familiy only gets enough for 3 months of consumption. Tubers of low nourishing value are, in practice, the food staple of the population; however they do not grow in enough quantities to last longer than 3 to 5 months; therefore the population of Laklúbar experiences starvation every year, especially during the last months of the year, from October to December, and during the first months from January to March. This is when they resort to "kami" honey and birds as a means of survival".

Social and economic situation of the population of Klalérek-Mútin

Klarérek Mútin is located south of the Vikeke-Luka road, a few hundred metres from the right bank of the We-Tuku stream, about 800 metres to 1 km from the beach.

The pppulation has been reduced to 1/3: in fact, before the insurrections of August 1983, it was spread in 7 settlements with a total of 1,593 inhabitants; at present, there are 570 persons left, mostly women. The remainder were either massacred by the Indonesian forces or starved to death as a result of a situation of ferocious repression. Then the occupiers went on to completely reorganize the social structures, mixing up all the elements of the population and coming up with the "RK"

instead of the previous 7 settlements. In each "RK " only 12 to 15 strong men can be found, against an average of 90 to 100 women, children and elderly people.

- "RK I" is made up of the population of the Amaraleja settlement and part of Uma-Kik-Baha Feu. Most of the population of these two settlements was killed in the massacre of Tahu-Bein, in September 1983.

- "RK II" is made up of the survivors of the populations of Hare Oan and Laku Uai. Part of the population of Hare Oan was killed at Tahu Bein, whereas the greatest part of the population of Laku-Vai was killed at Beloi, also in September 1983.

- "RK III" is made up of the population of the old settlement of We-Bae, part of which was massacred in the surroundings of the Bibileo Hills during the operations to recapture the population.

- "RK IV"is made up of the surviving populations of the old settlements of Mane Klaran and Ai Sahe, most of which were massacred in the surroundingsof Bibileo.

- "RK V" is made up of the surviving population of the old settlement of Fatu-Hossa, the greatest part of which was massacred at Sukaer-Oan in September 1983.

The population is forced to keep the occupiers in safety.

The constant presence of guerrilla fighters from Battallion A of the 4th Unit and the strong action they take, cause a growing feeling of instability to the stationary occupation forces.

A platoon of the Indonesian Army backed by 12 armed natives, the "Hansips", is positioned right at the center of this prison camp, surrounded by the huts of the population. For fear of our attacks, this military position keeps moving from one place to another but always within the boundaries of the concentration camp.

Two safety rings have been established around the camp. The closest, 200 metres away, is composed of "Jaga" positions; they add up to 12 holding every night, all healthy men. The other ring is composed of 10 positions, each one 300 metres apart, and each one holding 2 men every day.

In spite of a good, rich land, the population of Klaterek Mutin starves every year and the death toll by starvation and sickness reaches very high levels.

The population is only allowed to work the land within a radius of 1 km.

The swampy land next to which the population of Klalerek Mutin is imprisoned was used, during the Portuguese colonial Administration, as cultivation land for all the population of Vikeke. Nowadays this land is completely abandoned".

END OF QUOTATION
Mr. President,
Distinguished Delegates

During these twelve years of indescribable fighting against a powerful enemy;

During these twelve years of blood, tears, suffering and mourning of the mothers who have seen their loved children perish in

Indonesian jails or battlefields; mothers, wives and daughters wickedly insulted and raped in the presence of their sons, husbands and fathers;

During these twelve years of unspeakable suffering of innocent children taken by force from the lap of their parents, exiled in jails on Indonesian islands;

During these twelve years of international hypocrisy;

The Maubere People and its fighters of all fronts have learned from experience and reached a conclusion: TO RELY ON ITSELF FOR THE FIGHT AND, ABOVE ALL, TO PERSEVERE.

The reason for this is that, to the People of East Timor, one either fights or dies; the People will either impose its will or face genocide or ethnocide.

Facts have already proven that the Indonesian hardline military thesis of waging war to get the war done with, in East Timor, is no longer valid. The numerous and successive casualties inflicted on the Indonesian agressor only prove the growing capacity of the Armed Resistance in East Timor.

In the last months, countless documents have reached us from inside the country: military maps seized from Indonesian military commanders captured by the FALINTIL, describing the difficulties felt by occupation forces, and so on...

Mr. President,
Distinguished Delegates

The living forces of our historical process, whether political, social, cultural or religious, after years of interaction with one another, started a process of Unity and now converge in the

same direction - Unity in the Fight for Independence.

It is important to see this objective fact not as as simple engagement in an internal battle, only interrupted by the need to oppose an external force - the Indonesian expansionism. It is important to see it as a new arrangement of the Maubere social tissue caused by the destructive impact of the first years of Indonesian aggression. It is important to see it as a new national consciousness emerged from and rooted in the Maubere reality, consciousness that strengthens more and more the Unity of our People. The political options supported today by the living forces of our Nation and consolidated on the terms of the agreement signed by the FRETILIN and the UDT in March 1986 are a historical reference point of our struggle as an oppressed People for our Liberation. The "Convergência Nacionalista" (Nationalist Convergence), is a reality that only Indonesia and their supporters openly or covertly are determined to destroy.

The reality the Maubere Nation, which was just being put into shape at the beginning of our organized fight for National Liberation, experienced a deep and accelerated development of its ethnic and cultural, social, religious and political components towards consolidation, in the same rate as the Indonesians made efforts to deny it.

It is not without reason that the Indonesian aggressors make use of anything within reach to wipe out a reality that emerges, solidifies and dvelops itself each new day of Generalized Resistance. War, imprisonment, deportation or exile are not enough to silence the Maubere Movement of National Resistance. On the contrary, they help to stimulate a feeling of hate against the intruding occupiers, to abolish the ethnic, cultural or even political frontiers that might until recently have existed within

our society. This is why the measures taken by Indonesia such as birth control, forced sterilization of timorese men and women, transmisgration, and the miscigenation so often caused by such savage actions as violation or rape, constitute abhorrent crimes worthy of exposure and condemnation by the United Nations for they follow from the violation of the right of the Maubere People to self determination and Independence.

Mr. President,
Distinguished Delegates,

It is up to the UN to enforce the principles which are on the basis of its own existence and of the struggle of the People of East Timor.

The violation and the systematic disrespect by Indonesia of the Resolutions approved so far by the UN General Assembly and by the Security Council must continue to be an object of international repudiation.

Indonesia keeps trying to persuade the International Community to accept its policy of "fait accompli".

On our part, Mr. President and distinguished Delegates, in spite of the war, we would like to reaffirm, once again, our willingness, by means of dialogue between all interested parties, to find a definite, global, stable and lasting solution to guarantee the protection and safeguard of the interests of all parties, namely of the Maubere People to self determination and Independence.

For this reason, we demand that, in accordance with Resolution 37/30 of the UN General Assembly (1982), an adequate place be given to the People of East Timor and to their legitimate repre

sentatives in the cycle of consultations and talks under the sponsorship of the UN Secretary General with all parties directly involved in the conflict.

We state, once again, that the FRETILIN never empowered any other party to represent the interests for which it has taken up arms and fought over the last twelve years.

We sincerely wish and hope Mr. President and Distinguished Delegates, that we may be able, as shortly in time as possible, to congratulate this Committee for its contribution to the cause of the Liberation of the Maubere People.

Whenever that happens, it will no longer be necessary to include in the agenda and discuss the COLONIAL QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR!

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!